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ABSTRACT

This report presents results from a literature review that examined teacher job satisfaction in developing versus developed nations. The review involved computer searches using keywords, manual searches of databases, follow-up of references from papers, requests to research institutions worldwide, and searches of dissertations. Overall, most work has been focused on secondary school teachers. Issues related to elementary teachers and principals have not received much attention. There was no generally agreed upon definition of job satisfaction or standardization of instruments used in the available literature. What little research had been done in developing nations was based on a set of theoretical assumptions that had been developed from findings in developed nations. The evidence available from mature educational systems identified a complex picture in which job satisfaction, itself a multi-faceted concept, was closely related to the other key factors of worklife complexity and work centrality. Stress was produced, manifested, and coped with differently in different societies. The role played by stress in the normal working life of teachers in developing countries was a little-understood area. (Contains 57 references.) (SM)

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TEACHER JOB SATISFACTION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

R M GARRETT

OCTOBER 1999

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TEACHER JOB SATISFACTION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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Introduction

Job satisfaction among teachers in 'northern' countries has been extensively researched. It is recognised as a significant factor in motivation and professional improvement. In developing countries, there is an extreme paucity of information. Ascertaining the status of job satisfaction, and other related factors such as job centrality, work-life complexity and the role of stress for teachers in the 'south' would contribute immensely to a serious gap in our knowledge. The application of policy based on sound data in these areas could radically improve teacher morale and proficiency, and contribute towards the successful outcome of current Education Sector Investment Programmes being undertaken throughout the developing world.

Quantitative improvements to educational provision in the developing world are still fundamentally important goals, and the final drive towards universal primary education has already begun in many countries. Quality is now beginning to be accentuated and is currently a major goal in the education programmes of most developing nations. The recent White Paper (DFID, 1997) has clearly emphasised the need for good education as a major component in its overall aim of poverty elimination, and has noted that providing education is not just the building of schools. "The quality of education is a crucial factor in encouraging parents to enrol their children (particularly girls) and in ensuring that they attend school throughout the year" (p 8).

We know that teachers are the key factor in contributing towards any enhanced quality of classroom experiences. Indeed, there is some evidence that the mere continued presence of the teacher in the classroom, irrespective of what they do there, makes for some improvement in pupil achievement (Nabi, 1995). We also know that, for many teachers, there is little in the way of material or intellectual support for them, and that the salary they receive is often not sufficient to maintain them and their families. In addition, teachers often only hover above the level of poverty of the students they teach and frequently live at a much poorer standard than their pupils. Despite this, they still go to work and try to work under extremely arduous conditions. Indeed, Menlo and Poppleton (1990) have suggested that:

> School officials could view the psychological health of the teacher as a schooling outcome which can legitimately stand side-by-side with student learning and development as a teaching/schooling outcome (p 174).

How then do we equip the teachers so that they can provide a better quality of educational experience for their pupils while at the same time improving the teachers' own commitment to the job and quality of life?

Unfortunately, the allocation of more resources and training may not always be the answer to the problem. The social context of the teachers, the teachers' attitudes, and their working conditions are intimately related in a very complex manner and we need to understand them better. The reported failure of many attempts to improve the quality of education (eg Farrell and Oliveira, 1993; Kemmerer, 1990; Lockheed *et al*, 1990; World Bank, 1988) has often been put down to teacher resistance to innovation. This, in turn, has been explained by the 'work-life complexity' hypothesis (Chapman and Snyder, 1992; Snyder, 1990; Perry, Chapman and Snyder, 1995).

What we do not have is a clear picture of what motivates teachers, or indeed, what demotivates them. The introduction of more equipment may just have the opposite effect. It may well be resented, used inappropriately, or just discarded if it disrupts comfortable working practice, requires teachers to work longer hours preparing for classes, or if its care and security put additional burdens upon teachers for which they receive no recognition or additional recompense. We also know that there are very limited resources for the support of teachers in developing countries and that the most careful husbanding of whatever is available is a priority. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to use resources in the most

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efficient ways that we know will motivate and support teachers. Making available materials or training that are not used to maximum effect, or providing training which is not used to constructive purpose is simply wasteful.

It is generally recognised that the most important resource in the school is the teacher, though in many projects aimed at improving the quality of education, the teacher is regarded as only that - a resource and their quality of life is rarely considered. Yet this aspect is intimately bound up with how the teacher functions and is motivated.

The terms motivation and satisfaction are often used interchangeably in the literature. However, motivation is the more complex of the two concepts. One view of motivation is that it embraces a consideration of needs and drives which may be of both biological and social origin. Action leads to satisfaction and a reduction in the initial needs which then may result in the emergence of new - possibly higher order needs.

Another conception of motivation regards job characteristics rather than needs as the key to energising behaviour (eg Barnabe and Burns, 1994). An exploration of the difference between what are generally called Content and Process theories of motivation is beyond the scope of this study. It is also more important to examine the teachers' own concept of job satisfaction. If one of the ultimate aims of education in developing countries is to improve quality, and crucially to improve the quality of the work of teachers in the classroom, then it can be argued that a more direct and practical way forward is to seek to provide teachers with more satisfaction in their jobs. With the *caveat* that satisfaction is not always the prelude to improvement, the meeting of job satisfaction and reduction of dissatisfaction might be a more effective way of developing self-inspired, self-motivated teachers. Thus, rather than imposing external quality controls and standards, which may only serve to dissatisfy, it may be more efficient to seek to improve job satisfaction which in turn might create more professionalism among teachers. Although not guaranteed (see Imber *et al*, 1990, for example), standards that have been set by teachers themselves as part of their professional development and as a result of new, self-identified needs, may be more likely to be sustained.

This not to say, of course, that job satisfaction is a simple concept. It too is multi-faceted and is composed of a range of factors including teachers' salaries, working conditions, pupils performance, work colleagues, status in the community, and the complexity and stress of the job. We have, unfortunately, little evidence of how this relates to the performance of the teacher in the classroom and the quality of pupils' learning. When we come to look at teachers in developing countries there is even less information available. With the exception of some isolated cases and anecdotal evidence, we have no general view as to what teachers feel and think about their work. As Mercer (1997) has noted, "Job satisfaction is the affective reaction of an individual to his or her work" (p 57). Considerations of teachers attitudes towards their work and how these might be improved hardly feature in the in the inputs or outcomes of the Logframes of Sector Investment Programmes, since, despite a concern for educational quality, their overall concern is with the quantitative improvement of educational provision.

Where genuine attempts are made at qualitative improvements this involves major changes to the school curriculum, fundamental reorganisation of school systems and re-definition of roles and responsibilities of teachers. These developments are all features of the programmes currently being undertaken by many developing countries in their drive towards Universal Basic Education. That this is likely to cause considerable disturbance to teachers, upset them and even cause stress is recognised, yet little is done to reduce it or even study it (eg Menlo and Poppleton, 1990). Again, anecdote provides us largely with what little information we have regarding the lot of the teacher in the classroom and the impact changes have on their working lives and upon them as individuals.

A study of job satisfaction is probably most appropriate at this particular point in the evolution of education systems in developing countries. It is a time of huge mobilisation of resources and training, the enthusiastic adoption of decentralisation policies, putting more resources into schools, offering more opportunities and, at the same time, demanding more responsibility from teachers; a time of greater expectations and more work. If we do not apprehend the effect this will have on teacher job satisfaction and dissatisfaction and ultimately motivation, then much may be counter productive.

Job satisfaction

To understand some of the issues, and to have a clear perspective on them, it is necessary to review briefly the theoretical issues in order to facilitate the organisation of the literature and evaluate our current knowledge; particularly that of the teacher in the developing world.

As is often the case, with many concepts there is no agreed definition of what job satisfaction is and, as Evans (1997) has pointed out, this has led to considerable disparity among the many studies that have been undertaken since the pioneering work of the 1930s. Thus, across the range of studies both need and expectations have been variously used as the underlying concept (eg Schafter, 1953; Lawler, 1973). Others have turned to values (Locke, 1969), whilst Kalzell's definition (1964), for example, is all embracing and includes values, goals, desires and interests as the drivers for job satisfaction.

There are two important theories of job satisfaction that need to be examined as they underpin most of the work currently being undertaken in the field, *viz* the Herzberg Motivation-Hygiene Theory (Herzberg 1968) and that of Kalleberg (1977).

Herzberg motivation-hygiene theory

The most important feature in this theory is the distinction made by Herzberg between the related, but not isometric, concepts of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. According to this theory these two states are not opposites on a bipolar dimension, rather they are linked yet separate bipolar concepts. Thus there is 'satisfaction' and 'not satisfaction', 'dissatisfaction' and 'not dissatisfaction'. An absence of one does not necessarily lead to the other.

Satisfying factors are those intrinsic to the job such as achievement, recognition by superiors or peers, the work itself, responsibility and advancement. Changes in these factors, it is claimed, produce long term changes to job attitude. Thus, satisfaction with the intrinsic features of a job is long lived and, therefore, likely to sustain a worker over a long period of time.

Dissatisfying factors are extrinsic to the job and include such things as policy and administration, supervision, salary, interpersonal relations and working conditions. Changes to these features of the job tend to be short lived and therefore removing dissatisfaction is of less importance in the overall life of the worker.

Satisfiers, therefore, are seen by Herzberg to be true motivators to which people return, and take comfort from, despite perhaps poor conditions. Dissatisfiers on the other hand are regarded as maintenance factors, or related to job hygiene. Driving the worker are needs of two very different sorts. The need to avoid unpleasantness - and, therefore, remove dissatisfaction and the higher order need for growth or self-actualisation - the desire to move towards satisfaction. The implication of this theory, therefore, is quite clear. Improvement of work hygiene, or the removal of dissatisfaction alone is not sufficient to produce satisfaction. There must also be a potentially satisfying job to do before there can be satisfaction.

The Herzberg theory has often been linked to that of Maslow's theory of a hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1943). Briefly, this theory suggests that the most powerful drives come to meet the personal needs of body and safety, the next most powerful group belong to the social needs of love and belonging and self-esteem, whilst the intellectual needs of self-actualisation, knowledge and understanding are least strong and last to be met. We might speculate that the need to remove, or avoid, unpleasantness is more basic than the need for professional growth and development.

In the context of developing countries, the importance of meeting basic needs has long been recognised if children in schools are to progress and become effective learners. Thus the provision of meals are more than just incentives for parents to send their children to school, they are for many children a fundamental prerequisite before they can begin to attend to the task of learning. Similarly then for teachers to become more effective, their needs must be met. We do not have sufficient evidence yet to suggest which needs might be the most powerful or basic.

Evans (1997), in a very perceptive and useful critique of the Herzberg theory, does, indeed, suggest that what she terms job comfort is more related to lower order job related needs-fulfilment and that job fulfilment itself is more related to the higher order needs of the individual. She suggests that what lies at the heart of the ambiguity and lack of consensus surrounding the whole field of job satisfaction is the lack of distinction being made between what is 'satisfactory' about a job and what makes the job 'satisfying'. The difference between being satisfied ***with*** rather than satisfied ***by***.

While Herzberg (1968) clearly states that the opposite of job satisfaction is not dissatisfaction, rather it is not satisfaction, Evans (1997) thinks the issue is even simpler. There are elements of a job that are simply ***satisfactory***, for example the hours of work, length of holiday, salary, etc. These are the extrinsic factors and which she terms Job Comfort. These conditions, whilst they may be satisfactory, are, nevertheless, not of themselves, satisfying or fulfilling. What makes a job fulfilling are those intrinsic factors such as learning something new, working with others, achieving a goal, etc.

Evans (1997) goes further, however, and notes that it is the sense of personal involvement and achievement that is really important and that different people might interpret the same factor in different ways. Thus a school that has good staff relations might provide job comfort for the majority of the staff, but for those who contributed towards creating this environment, who were involved in it, then the situation is satisfying and becomes part of their job fulfilment. Thus:

> Both job comfort and job fulfilment are components of job satisfaction ... a state of mind determined by the extent to which the individual perceives her/his job-related needs to be met (Evans, 1997 p 328).

Kalleberg theory of job satisfaction

Kalleberg (1977) has pointed out that what impels us to study job satisfaction includes such diverse reasons as the need to study personal value systems, the potentially important links between the quality of working life and physical and mental health, and a desire to improve productivity and organisational functioning. All of these indicate the importance of the person's job in their overall life experience. It is a consideration of this, more rounded view of the person involved in the job, that probably caused Kalleberg to formulate his ideas.

His criticism of Herzberg is that it explains job satisfaction only in terms of the nature of the job. This has had considerable success and value in that it has led to suggestions as to how employers might increase satisfaction - or decrease dissatisfaction - through a manipulation of job characteristics. In a criticism similar to that of Evans (1997), Kalleberg (1977) recognises the importance of the individual and the differences between people and what they want, expect and need from their jobs. Thus worker personality is also a key factor when considering job satisfaction.

Kalleberg (1977) does not separate satisfaction from dissatisfaction, but rather explores the complexity of the impact of worker individuality and how different aspects of work might be differently valued by individuals. Thus the intrinsic stimulation from, and challenges of, the job might be the most important aspects for one group of people, with some features more or less highly valued than others, depending upon the person concerned. For other groups of workers, the extrinsic features, such as the convenience offered by the job in terms of working hours, congruence with family life, financial conditions, etc, might be the driving force behind their satisfaction or job comfort. For yet others, the psycho-social aspects of potential relationships with co-workers, possibilities of recognition and advancement might be the most attractive, or meet the most felt needs. Still others might regard the adequacy of the resources made available to them to be the most important.

As a result of this debate, Kalleberg (1977) identified two major lines of research that need to be followed up. Firstly, there is a need to explore the characteristics of people who value work in different ways and these, Kalleberg suggests, arise from three sets of social factors:

1. Socialisation and other types of life experiences before entering work
2. Non work social roles
3. Work experiences.

With an understanding of these factors it might then be possible to explore different mechanisms for job reward distribution.

An interesting and important examination of these factors has been carried out by Perry, Chapman and Snyder, who have proposed the term 'work life complexity' (Chapman and Snyder, 1992; Snyder, 1990; and Perry, Chapman and Snyder, 1995). This hypothesis states that nearly all innovations or changes required of teachers increase the complexity of what they must do. This then may produce resistance to the changes, even if they are aimed at improving the quality of working conditions. Perry *et al* (1995) suggest that complexity might be reduced through additional training. This, however, may still not have the desired effect. Additional training, particularly if carried out during vacation time, might well alienate the teacher (see Garrett, 1999), and does not necessarily remove the complexity and extra demands being made of the teacher. If the additional training and the work it implies does not bring satisfaction, then it is likely to result in resistance.

The work complexity hypothesis might well explain, at least in part, the often unsuccessful attempts to improve science teaching or other curricular subjects in the 1970s. All too often kits of equipment and new books were soon abandoned after their appearance in the schools. Indeed ,they were sometimes never used at all. It could be argued that, even with adequate training, these pupil-centred, practically orientated courses made huge demands upon teacher time, ingenuity and energy. Teaching became more unfamiliar, complex and difficult. The chalkboard on the other hand was familiar, simple and easy to use, As a consequence the old ways were preferred to the new. This ,however, does not necessarily follow. Complexity and difficulty could well lead to more job satisfaction. It may be that the whole teacher work-life, including both professional and non-professional work, needs to be considered (see, for example, Perry *et al*, 1995).

Although we seem to have learned some lessons from this limited project approach, our understanding of these lessons may be weak. As a result, the current fashion of sector-wide investment may still be committing some of the same basic errors. Most particularly, we seem to be failing to recognise adequately the sensitivity and receptivity of the teachers, whose co-operation lies at the heart of any change.

What the work of Perry *et al* (1995) does tell us is that the introduction of innovation is highly complex and an understanding of teachers in relation to their jobs and the satisfaction, or dissatisfaction, they get from them is crucial, and to ignore this is to imperil the project.

A simple analysis of typical Educational Sector Investment Programmes, such as those currently being undertaken in Ghana or Zambia, serves to illustrate the point.

The components of such programmes are dominated by quantitative, measurable inputs. This, of course, is inevitable given the scale and complexity of the operation. It is also true to say that most, if not all, of the components are aimed at improving the overall conditions of the teacher. Thus more materials to work with, revised curricula, improved systems of assessing and evaluating students' progress, better classrooms, more training, better communication among professionals and the community, will all, potentially, add to the betterment of the system and teachers' working lives. A major danger, however, and hardly acknowledged in the risks and constraints column of the logframe, is the increase this activity will cause in the work complexity of the teacher and the possibility that motivation and satisfaction may not be improved, and even damaged.

It is not just the teachers, of course, who might suffer in this regard. All through the system professionals will be asked to do more, and in systems where the absorptive capacity of the workforce is limited, pressures upon individuals will be increased hugely.

There are some explicit inputs, of course, aimed directly at increasing job satisfaction, such as improved classroom environments and teacher accommodation. These are extrinsic factors to the job that are important, but may be short lived in their effect (see discussions below). Other attempts to provide incentives, such as 'best teacher awards' are conceived of within a climate of competition, and the inevitable sense of failure that brings for many who compete yet do not gain recognition. Where there

is a potential for making contributions to improving intrinsic elements of the job, for example, better ways of assessing and evaluating students' work, it may be that the emphasis on examination results is counter-productive to the satisfaction it produces in the teacher. As Poppleton *et al* (1987) have noted, participants in any reform must see the immediate relevance of the exercise to their own work; they must regard it not as an incremental burden, but a an alternative, and should perceive it as a product of their own authorship.

The inputs of these programmes are, nevertheless, from the teacher's point of view, frequently seen as being imposed from above. They are also largely aimed at improving the extrinsic, 'hygiene' or job-satisfying features. These tend, as has been noted already, to be short-lived in their effects and do not provide long term satisfaction with the job itself (at least in 'western' countries). Equally important, if they are at the same time increasing work complexity, then the impact upon teachers and their reaction to the changes may well be negative. At the same time these programme inputs are implicitly assumed to have a positive impact upon pupil attitudes and attainment. However, as Perry *et al* (1995) have pointed out, it is not clear how the quality of teachers' work-life is related to their instructional practice.

> It is widely assumed that happier teachers are better teachers and that they tend to be more open and supportive of new initiatives. However, little research has directly investigated these relationships (p 116).

Equally, we have little understanding of the needs of teachers, as described by the teachers themselves, particularly in the developing world. Indeed, despite what has been argued above, about the inadequacies of SIPs, it may be that some threshold of extrinsic conditions need to be provided first before teachers can possibly be satisfied by higher order intrinsic elements of the job.

The next section surveys the research available in this area.

The research evidence

Despite the fact that a large number of studies has been carried out into job satisfaction since the middle of this century (Evans, 1997, cites Locke, 1969, who says that possibly studies exceed 4,000), most of these have been in non-school work settings. Indeed, the work of Herzberg (1968) was developed from data gathered from a study of engineers and accountants in the USA. Again, as Evans (1997) points out, only a small proportion of studies in this area has been of teachers.

There is, nevertheless, a case to made for regarding teaching as a substantially different type of profession when compared to others of similar standing. Teachers spend much of their professional time isolated from other adults, either working directly with children, or in isolation when preparing teaching materials, reading and marking work. Therefore, the findings from the non-teaching research data may not be applicable and at least need to be tested against the situation in the school environment. Barnabe and Burns (1994) make the case well.

> There is little evidence to-date that job redesign efforts in education have increased motivation. Education systems differ in many respects from business systems. Teachers work in a flat, craft-style organisational structure, their work is primarily with students, they are physically isolated from the continuous interactions with other adults that characterise most business work and are faced with qualitatively based, subjective judgements of effectiveness. Before specific job redesign interventions, based on the characteristics of the job, should be attempted (merit pay, career ladders, quality circles, participatory decision-making), it is considered critical to diagnose the factors affecting motivation in education (p 172).

Of those studies that have looked at teachers, the majority have been carried out in western countries and very few have explored the world of the developing country teacher (see Table 1)

It is difficult to synthesise the findings of the reports available for two reasons. Firstly, the number is so small that inevitably they sample the area in a rather haphazard manner and each study tends to be a one-off, with no substantial related literature. Secondly, as Evans (1997) has pointed out, one of the major flaws of the studies is their general lack of a sound, or agreed, theoretical basis. Even definitions of job satisfaction, if they are provided, do not share a common basis, giving rise to a fundamental lack

of construct validity. Recognising these problems, a broad discussion only is given of the empirical work.

As already noted, studies have so far covered the terrain in a rather spotty or idiosyncratic way, reflecting the interests of the various authors.

One important distinction in the work of teachers that is frequently made is that between the classroom teacher, concerned mainly with the day-to-day teaching and the learning of their pupils and that of the head teacher. The latter will, in addition, have direct involvement with the management and administration of the school and thus a qualitatively different set of professional demands. Given also that this paper is fundamentally concerned with the research that has been carried out in the developing world, Table 1 represents the information available, in terms of papers and reports, in these areas. It does not represent an exhaustive compilation of the literature but for the southern literature in particular it does represent what has been found after an extensive period of searching. While there may well be further data available it is not readily accessible and, therefore, Table 1 probably reflects the general state of our knowledge in this area.

It was not the purpose of this paper to review exhaustively the 'northern' research, but rather to sample it, to provide a background to the conceptual thinking and to map the terrain before going on to consider in more detail what information might be available from the 'southern' literature.

The literature was searched in a number of ways:

- Computer searches using key words
- Manual searches of data bases, eg REDUC
- Follow up of references from papers
- Requests to research institutions around the world
- Searches of dissertations

A series of guiding questions have been used when interrogating the evidence as represented by the papers traced and these are:

- Who has been studied, eg head teachers, classroom teachers and do these show any general patterns?
- What theoretical basis have been employed?
- What specific factors have been investigated?
- In what research context has the concept of job satisfaction been investigated (eg descriptive hypothesis testing)?
- In what socio-economic context has the concept been investigated?
- What cross cultural studies have been conducted?

Table 1 indicates some interesting trends and gaps. Most work seems to have been focused upon secondary school teachers and the area of outstanding concern to most developing countries - basic or primary education - has received scant attention. Similarly, the important post of head teacher has not attracted much attention and no work at all has been traced in this area from the developing world.

Quite clearly there is urgent need for work to be carried out in these areas to provide some firm data as to the expectations teachers and heads, or principals, have from their jobs and what they would regard as providing them with a more fulfilling career.

Such a paucity of this sort of data would seem to indicate a greater concern for the improvement of systems and the technical efficiency and effectiveness of the people within the systems, rather for the people themselves. Even large scale studies such as those commissioned by the then ODA, such as INSET Africa (Greenland 1983) and technical education surveys, such as that reported by Thompson (1992), appear to have been more concerned with the examination of services, as opposed to the study

of people. System needs and cognitive skills and knowledge, seem to be regarded as rather more important than the affective needs of teachers.

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF RESEARCH PAPERS OVER SEVERAL AREAS OF INTEREST

Secondary Education

	Teachers	*Headteachers*
North	Poppleton & Riseborough, 1990, UK Poppleton, 1989, UK Ball & Stenlund, 1990, Canada Ninomiya & Okata, 1990, Japan Lissman & Gigerich, 1990, Germany/ USA/UK Barnabe & Burns, 1994, Canada Imber *et al*, 1990, USA Poppleton *et al*, 1987, UK/USA	Mercer, 1997, UK Mercer, 1993, UK Hardy, 1977, UK Jones, 1987, UK Gunn & Holdaway, 1985, Canada
South	Wisniewski, 1990 & 1991, Poland Sim, 1987, Singapore Kloep & Tarifa, 1994, Albania Mwale, 1991, Malawi Perry *et al*, 1985, Biswana Hean (personal research), Chile	*No references traced*

Primary Education

	Teachers	*Headteachers*
North	Chaplain, 1995, UK Nias, 1981, UK	Mahon, 1993, UK Hill, 1994, UK Hayes, 1996, UK
South	Yong, 1994, Brunei	*No references traced*

The northern literature

The work carried out in the northern countries can be usefully divided into those studies concerned with classroom teachers and others that specifically address the role of head teachers.

Teachers

The first general comment to be made is that studies of secondary school teachers would appear to outweigh those made in primary schools (cf studies of head teachers below).

As has been noted already, it is difficult to make direct comparisons between studies in that there would seem to be no generally agreed definition of job satisfaction or standardisation of the instruments used. However, with that caveat in mind, some general comparisons can be made.

A series of articles, gathered together in the Bristol Comparative Education Consortium, provide a number of international comparisons to be made. Overall, teachers seem to be generally satisfied with their job, although Japanese teachers would appear to be the least content when compared to those in other countries. The work of Ninomiya and Okato (1990) is based on the debatable assumption that job satisfaction is directly correlated to increased motivation. They found that the higher the percentage contributed to the household income by the teacher, the greater the satisfaction they had with the job. However, the greatest difference between satisfied and non-satisfied teachers was in their perception of working conditions, roles/responsibilities and teaching practices.

Lissman and Gigerich (1990) provide an interesting comparison between teachers in Germany, the USA and the United Kingdom.

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TABLE 2: COMPARISON OF GERMAN, BRITISH AND AMERICAN TEACHERS' JOB SATISFACTION

	Germany	USA	UK
Importance of job success	26%	88%	76%
Importance of continuing education	9%	28%	-
Rating of enjoyment of education as an occupation	64%	46%	22%
Importance of good pupil/teacher relations	84%	81%	45%

[Source: Lissman & Gigerich, 1990]

The low rating by German teachers of the importance of job success and continuing education is tentatively explained as a consequence of the political and administrative restraints which remove incentives for innovative teaching.

Ball and Stenlund (1990), investigating Canadian teachers, looked at working conditions and the importance of work (work centrality), as well as general job satisfaction and found that success at work to be a strong motivating factor and that most teachers were interested in what was happening in schools other than their own. This was in marked contrast to Japanese teachers who had no strong feelings in this category (Bristol Consortium). They also found that Canadian teachers were generally negatively disposed to extrinsic features and rewards.

Another study in Canada, conducted by Barnabe and Burns (1994), tested on teachers a model (developed by Hackman and Oldham, 1980) to study business workers. This model suggests that there is an interaction between job characteristics, psychological states and worker motivation. The model proposes five core job characteristics, *viz* skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy and feedback from job, which are filtered through critical psychological states to produce improvements in the four outcomes of internal work motivation, 'growth' satisfaction, general job satisfaction and work effectiveness. Using the Job Diagnosis Survey instrument, Barnabe and Burns (1994) found teachers responses to be broadly similar to that provided by business and service professionals. Most importantly, the predictions of the model were found to be supported and that the presence of the various job characteristics, together with the critical psychological states of meaningful work, responsibility for outcomes and knowledge of the results of work activity, gave rise to improved outcomes, as noted above.

A tactic increasingly being used, as part of an overall strategy by which responsibility is devolved in the planning process, is that of user involvement. Many educational development programmes now include, to some degree, an element of participant involvement or consultation. It is important to know how such involvement affects commitment to, and enthusiasm for, a project.

Imber *et al* (1990) have examined one technique in this area, Participate Decision Making (PDM), and its relationship to teacher satisfaction. Previous work had indicated that satisfaction with a particular PDM experience did not guarantee positive feelings towards PDM in general. Imber *et al* (1990), therefore, examined in relation to two dependent variables, *viz* general satisfaction and specific satisfaction. In a detailed study, 17 independent variables were investigated. As far as general satisfaction was concerned, four factors were found to be significant predictors: expected rewards; level of commitment involved; attitude towards teaching in general; and perceived effect of PDM on the school. When specific satisfaction was examined, a further four factors were significantly correlated: benefit to self; level of influence; degree of implementation of the decision; and perceived level of benefit to the school.

This study is important in demonstrating the complexity of the whole concept of job satisfaction and how different types of satisfaction occupy different domains of behaviour, an idea also supported by Chaplain (1995).

Stress is a prominent feature of professional life and, as Chaplain (*op cit*) notes, considerable research has been carried out among secondary teachers. Its impact upon job satisfaction has been studied by Poppleton *et al* (1987) in a comparative study between secondary teachers in the USA and the UK. Not surprisingly, the teachers studied, working in 'disadvantaged' areas, were found to have a negative

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relationship between stress and job satisfaction. Those teachers, however, who saw themselves in the restricted professional role of classroom teacher were more likely to be satisfied with the job. Poppleton *et al* (1987) also note that this may not be in the best interests of either the teachers or their children.

Chaplain's work (Chaplain 1995) redresses some of the imbalance between studies on secondary and primary teachers by focusing on the latter. He seeks to explore beyond the established negative correlation between stress and job satisfaction by examining what experiences are considered to be stressful (in particular, the integration of special needs children into mainstream classes), the frequency and intensity of stress and relating this to the main sources of job satisfaction.

The main findings indicated that gender plays a significant role when different professional tasks were concerned, but that overall teachers were more satisfied with their own professional performance and less satisfied with their resources. Stress and satisfaction were negatively correlated, but most importantly Chaplain (*op cit*) noted that stress intensity and frequency were both important when comparing it to the complex nature of job satisfaction.

No work has been traced in this area for developing countries, yet it is not difficult to imagine the high levels of stress that large classes, poor resources and high expectations, are likely to place on teachers working in many of the current development programmes. Hidden within the large, multi-grade class will be all the children of differing educational and emotional needs. This, for the conscientious teacher, striving for a high quality professional response, is likely to be particularly stressful, and, therefore, counter productive to job satisfaction.

Some of the children in these classes will be those with obvious special needs, the severely disabled, but more likely will be the less obvious group: the hard of hearing, short sighted, mild physical, cognitive and affective problems - the 'non-headline' special needs group If the teacher is aware of their presence, but has no training to equip them in coping, then a severe lack of satisfaction and stress is likely to ensue. The stress of the inability to cope with behavioural problems is generated through self-doubt and a questioning of professional competence (Miller, 1994, in Chaplain, 1995).

This might indicate that the more training provided and the more professionally aware and alert teachers become, the more likely they are to be exposed to stressful situations, particularly when higher demands might be placed upon them in terms of improved pupil performance. Considerations of this sort, however, would need take into account the importance teachers felt the job to have in their lives. The concept of work centrality (Poppleton ,1989 and Poppleton & Riseborough, 1990) is yet another factor to be considered in the whole matrix of job satisfaction and stress (cf discussion at end of paper).

Head teachers

Again, it is interesting to note that the imbalance between studies of secondary and primary school heads is similar to that found for teachers with the number of studies of the former outweighing those for the primary sector.

Making comparisons between disparate studies is notoriously difficult when different theoretical stances and methodologies have been adopted. It is, therefore, not possible to say, from the data available, that there are clear differences between the sort of satisfaction teachers get from their job as compared to that obtained by heads. Nevertheless, it is entirely plausible that they will differ. Depending upon the roles that heads are given in schools in different countries, they are more likely to have been involved in providing improved conditions for their teachers and generally involved in the securing of what might normally be described as the 'hygiene' conditions necessary for the classroom teacher. These then are, for the head teacher, intrinsic features of the job. Thus, subject to the educational system being investigated, the job characteristics of headship will be different from that of the classroom teacher. What might be intrinsic to the head could well be extrinsic to the classroom teacher. Any comprehensive study would need to study this aspect carefully (see discussion at the end of the paper).

There would appear to be a growing body of literature in the area of head teacher job satisfaction with considerable work being carried out in Canada (eg Gunn and Holdaway, 1985; 1986; Gunn, Holdaway and Rice, 1983, 1984; Johnson and Holdaway, 1994) and the UK (eg Hardy, 1977; Nias, 1981; Jones,

1987 and Hill, 1994). Mercer (1997) has noted a discernible trend in this work that indicates the importance of the individual's environment or context and the extent to which they are satisfied or dissatisfied. Thus, frequently external influences on the school such as education officials and policy, school trustees or governors (Gunn and Holdaway, 1985) were all seen as major dissatisfiers, as were task specific factors such as other teachers, role ambiguity and complexity, parents and pressure groups (Leithwood *et al*, 1990).

As far as the investigation of the head teacher in developing countries is concerned, possibly the most important outcome from this work is the technique employed by Mercer (1993). The Nominal Group Technique requires the subjects being investigated to work both individually and as a group, in a workshop-type environment. In many societies this more personal and negotiated approach might be more acceptable and fruitful than the impersonal and alien questionnaire or individual interview.

Again, in the context of developing countries, where the emphasis is upon basic education, it is worth looking in more detail at the work that has been traced referring to primary heads.

Mahon (1993) has observed that, in general, studies do not show any consistent agreement between the background characteristics of the school and the job satisfaction exhibited by the head teacher, although heads in city locations and large schools were more likely to be satisfied. This last finding is interesting in the light of the work of Hayes (1996) who, although not specifically examining job satisfaction, found that primary head teachers in small schools were unable to cope and attain the high targets and aspirations they had set for themselves and were under considerable emotional and physical strain, and had to resort to developing strategies that preserved their external image.

In general, a high proportion of heads displayed some degree of satisfaction with their job (82.5%) and, in particular, satisfaction would seem to have been derived from such features as relationships with teachers and inspectors, and attitudes of parents. This is a finding supported by the work of Hill (1994) who also noted relationships with school governors as affording satisfaction. This, as Hill (*op cit*) notes, is also consonant with the Herzberg two-factor theory.

Hill (*op cit*) and Mahon (1993) are also broadly in agreement in noting that extrinsic job factors were the most likely to be the source of dissatisfaction. Hill (1994) noting the amount of paperwork, work overload and stress as the most important, and Mahon (1993) finding lack of financial resources to be important.

On examining gender differences, men were more likely than women to mention pay as a source of dissatisfaction (Hill, 1994), and women rather than men were, in general, more likely to be satisfied (Mahon, 1993).

The southern literature

The first thing to note here is that, as indicated in Table 1, no literature was traced that related to head teachers or school principals. Despite their importance to the system, they would seem, at least in this area of job satisfaction, to have been ignored or simply included with teachers in general.

Despite the sparseness of the literature, there is some indication that the motivation of teachers (and pupils) is being taken more seriously by academics in developing countries (Mwali, 1991). There is a recognition that the better motivated teacher might inspire pupils and produce more successful learning in them. Mwali's work, however, does this in a very general way and the assumptions are not supported by any empirical data.

Other work includes that of Yong (1994), who surveyed the factors that trainee teachers in Brunei found attractive in the profession. Of 25 factors presented to respondents to a questionnaire, furtherance of education via a BA was regarded as the highest, whilst status, salary and community respect were also highly rated. It is interesting to note that these are all what Evans (1997) has called job comfort, or extrinsic factors, and those which are most likely to be short lived in their effects upon ultimate job satisfaction. Similar work by Chivore (1988), in Zimbabwe, does not investigate teacher job satisfaction, rather the attractiveness it has as a future career. He also found that the extrinsic factors such as salary, working conditions and fringe benefits offered were among the most appealing features

for prospective teachers. Hansford (1992) found low morale among teachers in the South Pacific as the most likely to put prospective teachers off the profession. Joseph and Green (1986), however, note that both prospective and serving teachers chose service to others and working with people as most attractive aspects of teaching. With such flimsy evidence, it is not possible to say that this reflects some sort of difference between teachers from different economically developed parts of the world. Such comparative information however would be extremely useful to have.

More directly concerned with job satisfaction is the work of Kloep and Tarifa (1994) who conducted an extensive survey of teachers working conditions in Albania. Based on the work of Poppleton (1990), they attempted to measure job satisfaction, work load, social support, aversive tasks, and teacher burnout. Of prime interest to this paper, is the first of these. Only four items in the questionnaire attempted to measure general job satisfaction (as opposed to facet specific satisfaction) which revealed that teachers were 'to some extent' satisfied. More importantly 'professional autonomy' was found to be the factor most strongly linked to job satisfaction. Also important were factors relating to job security, respect from the community and co-operation with colleagues. Thus, despite the very poor physical conditions of classrooms, an almost total absence of teaching resources, and poor supporting infrastructure (teachers walking up to 10 miles a day to and from school), a situation not untypical of many developing nations, the relative freedom to work as respected professionals was found to be immensely important in sustaining job satisfaction.

This situation is similar to that in Poland (Wisniewski, 1990 & 1991), who found there to be highest job satisfaction among teachers who had worked for more than 20 years. Autonomy in decision making and encouragement to experiment with different teaching methods were also rated highly as providing satisfaction.

It is important to note here that these findings relate to countries in a state of readjustment. Although Albania had always been economically poor, both Poland and Albania had invested in education and had a system in which teachers had been well trained and held in high regard. This is not the case in many countries still in the process of development and where high investment in education is only just starting.

The most important study to be traced from a developing country was that conducted by Perry *et al* (1995) in Botswana.

It focuses upon the quality of teacher work-life and the impact that can have upon teachers' willingness to become involved in innovations and their ultimate classroom practices. The questionnaire used was designed to measure teacher satisfaction with different aspects of their work-life. While it did not overtly espouse the theoretical considerations discussed above, the study has indicated some important trends. All teachers showed some satisfaction with their work-life. However, those who displayed the greatest degree of satisfaction were also those who had the greatest control over their environment. They also regarded their work as complex, attended to student needs, while at the same time maintaining good discipline in their classrooms. Those teachers who felt they got less satisfaction from their job regarded it as less complex. Furthermore, they found their work to hold little in the way of incentives and that control of their work was, largely, not in their hands. They also had less discipline and were not so good at attending to students' needs. This last group, however, was found to contain the most enthusiastic teachers. It is interesting to note that the factors identified by Perry *et al* (1995) as being those to characterise different groups of teachers are largely those that have been described as job fulfilment factors or the intrinsic elements of the job.

The same study by Perry *et al* (1995) is also insightful in pointing to the complexity underlying teachers' willingness to respond to changes that are imposed upon them. The degree of satisfaction with one's job may not necessarily be positively correlated to one's willingness to take on innovation. Those teachers with a high degree of satisfaction with their work might well see change as disturbing that contentment and, therefore, resist it. Similarly, teachers who are less satisfied with their jobs might also oppose change as they will regard it as further complicating their work-life.

Working in Singapore, Sim (1987) has conducted a more refined investigation into job satisfaction and its relation to the concept of work centrality. While he uses such factors as teaching career, roles and

responsibilities and classroom practices he also investigates the place of perceived stress and finds that 'the experience of stress variable is loaded negatively on job satisfaction and positively on work centrality'. This, therefore, suggests a conflict in teachers who aspire to be successful professionals and who find satisfaction from their job, if it is stress free, while at the same time accepting a degree of stress is necessary if one strives for excellence. This is much more related to the findings in the 'northern' literature(*cf* to stress in Menlo and Poppleton, 1990, and Chaplain, 1995). Similar studies in the more economically disadvantaged countries would make an interesting comparison.

None of these studies have attempted to relate their findings to student achievement. The assumption is often made, however, that the contented teacher will have pupils with greater achievement (see Menlo and Poppleton, 1990, who cite some evidence to support this, p 174). Work to address this question is currently being undertaken in Chile by Hean (personal communication). Preliminary findings indicate that teachers are most dissatisfied with the salary offered, followed by lack of time, excessive work load, status and student characteristics, eg motivation, home background and behaviour in school. So far, impact on pupil performance has not been analysed.

Conclusions

It is clear that very little work on teacher job satisfaction has come from the developing world. Of equal importance is the fact that what has been done in this area has been based on a set of theoretical assumptions that have been developed from findings from metropolitan countries. There is a need, therefore, for more data to be gathered from developing countries, and for the theories to be tested in different cultural contexts and different professional, social and economic environments.

Another idea to be considered more carefully, particularly in the context of low-resource countries, is that suggested by Sergiovanni (1968), and supported by Evans (1997), namely that the Herzberg (1968) Two-Factor Theory is possibly linked to the Theory of Human Motivation propounded by Maslow (1954). Maslow's hierarchy distinguishes between lower-order and higher-order needs. If there is a connection, then we might consider the extrinsic features of a job, such as salary conditions of service, working conditions, etc, as corresponding to the more basic needs of the Maslow theory. Similarly, the intrinsic elements of the job might be more akin to higher-order needs of the teacher. The former, therefore, would be a prerequisite to satisfy, at least to some critical minimal level, before satisfying the higher-order needs would become relevant or possible. Given that the bulk of the work so far carried out in this area has been in the developed world, where the basic needs of the teachers are more likely to have been met to such a basic critical level, then it may not be surprising to find that the impact of satisfying the higher-order, intrinsic features of the job take on a more important and permanently effective role. In many developing countries, however, this is patently not the case. More investigation of this situation therefore needs to be carried out.

A further important difference between the needs of developing countries and those where mature school systems have evolved, is the importance currently being placed upon basic education. While it may not be possible to propose any theoretical basis for suggesting that the needs of teachers in the primary sector are likely to be different from those working in the secondary sector, it is, nevertheless, important that any work carried out in developing countries should concentrate in this area. It is quite clear that teachers in primary schools frequently seek to gain qualifications that will enable them to work in the secondary sector. This, however, may not be due to any intrinsic dissatisfaction with the work of basic education. In most countries, the only way to improve salary prospects is to move between sub-sectors. This, however, does not imply that for many teachers the secondary sector is intrinsically more satisfying. An improved career structure within the basic sector with adequate rewards of an extrinsic nature (salary, etc) might be sufficient to retain staff in what might be for them potentially, an intrinsically more satisfying job.

Coupling an improved career structure with such changes in policy as decentralisation, and the devolution of responsibilities to schools and teachers, might then result in more satisfied teachers. This, nevertheless, has to be regarded with some caution given the caveats already noted with regard to job complexity and job centrality. It has, therefore, to be stressed that any study in developing countries has to take all of the features into account if any clear picture is to emerge that might be of use to policy makers.

The evidence available from mature educational systems identifies a complex picture in which job satisfaction, itself a multi-faceted concept, is closely related to the other key factors of work-life complexity and work centrality. A clear picture of how these factors relate to each other is also crucial, if we are to understand how the impact of changes in the work situation are likely to affect the individual.

We require a clearer picture of what the whole work life of the teacher is like. Not just what he or she does during their time in school or preparing for classes. What other work, paid or unpaid does the teacher have to do, and how does this relate to their professional life? How important is the teaching job in the life of the teacher in relation to their family duties and their general life style? While these factors have not been specifically researched for this paper, they have clearly emerged as important.

Another salient factor to have emerged as important, in relation to the overall attitude towards work and the satisfaction or otherwise derived from it, is that of stress. How stress is produced, manifested and coped with in different societies is of itself interesting. It is also important to know how changes to work conditions might, in different cultures produce stress, and what effect that is likely to have on the uptake of any innovations.

A further important gap in the literature is any investigation of the relationship all the various teacher factors that have been discussed, eg job satisfaction, stress and work life complexity, might have upon pupil achievement. The impact of the dissatisfied, stressed teacher upon her pupils is virtually unknown.

The big educational project of many developing countries, in the next decade or so, is involving wholesale change on a level quite unprecedented in those countries. The successful management of this change is, therefore, crucial. However, this cannot be undertaken without a clearer understanding of the reaction of the professionals to changes in their work and the heightened exceptions being made of them.

As a result of the review undertaken, and in the light of the paucity of data, it is recommended that a comprehensive, cross-cultural investigation of job-satisfaction be undertaken. This should, in the first instance, take the theoretical understandings derived from evidence gathered in the north and test them in a southern context.

Given the large investment currently being undertaken in many developing countries, it is also suggested that the relationship between the factors of work-life complexity and work centrality and job-satisfaction also need to be explored with a view to informing policy makers as to best ways of ensuring the uptake of innovations.

The role played by stress, in the normal working life of a teacher in developing countries, is also an area little understood and would also seem to be closely linked to the factors mentioned above and consequently important in the overall understanding of the conditions necessary for the successful management of change.

A number of instruments are available and ,with appropriate modifications, could be used in the investigations suggested. These are Mercer's 1993 model of Nominal Group Techniques and other techniques, eg Poppleton (1989).

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